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Bogachev on U.S. Opposing Test Ban
LD261055 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT
26 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS — Military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

In the wide range of possible measures to curb the arms race a general and complete ban on nuclear weapon tests undoubtedly could become the simplest, easily verifiable and at the same time exceptionally effective step.

Nuclear tests are an obligatory component of any project to create new or perfect old systems of weapons of mass destruction. Without tests the existing weapon systems would start becoming obsolete. A ban on explosions would create an obstacle for the development of new nuclear weapon systems and genuinely start the process of turning nuclear weapons into piles of useless junk.

The existing means of detecting nuclear explosions and the existing methods of distinguishing them from seismic phenomena ensure reliable verification of observance of agreements. A universal ban on explosions, while not inflicting damage to the security of any individual country, would strengthen the regime of nuclear non-proliferation and promote military-political stability in the whole world.

Apart from everything else, the attainment of agreement on stopping nuclear explosions would have immense political and moral importance and serve as an encouraging example for the concerted actions of states with different socio-economic systems in the interests of strengthening the security of all nations.

It is only the political will of the leaders of the great powers that is needed for banning nuclear tests. The attitude of political leaders and governments to the problem of nuclear explosions is actually an objective test of political maturity.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated its readiness for any forms of talks and for any variant of an accord just that this would lead to an agreement on the prohibition of nuclear explosions. [sentence as received] The USSR observed its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions for more than eighteen months. The Soviet Government is making tireless efforts to put the solution of the problem of nuclear tests into motion.

But the reaction of Washington's official representatives to the major Soviet initiatives allows for the conclusion that the present United States Administration is not interested either in a moratorium on nuclear tests, or in an international system of verifying its observance, or in a resumption of the full-scale talks on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests that were suspended by the United States in 1980.

The fact remains: During the past seven years the United States has not made even the slightest movement towards a positive solution of the question of stopping nuclear weapon tests. Moreover, Washington is constantly making its position on the problems of nuclear tests more rigorous.

The Soviet Union, displaying realism and desire to find at long last a solution to the problem of nuclear explosions, submitted in Geneva a plan of gradually approaching full-scale talks on banning tests. The Soviet side proposed that the Congress of the United States and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopt a law on limiting the yield of nuclear test explosions to one kiloton and reducing the number of such explosions to the minimum.

The Soviet initiative was received with full understanding by broad sections of the American public. As is known, decisions analogous to the Soviet proposals were adopted in the United States Congress. But the desire to continue nuclear tests at all cost prevailed in the White House. The American Administration has failed to produce any coherent reply to the Soviet proposal on a stage-by-stage advance to terminating nuclear explosions.

The world has entered a period of crucial decisions. By its actions the Soviet Union wants to bolster the hopes of the peoples that the present dangerous development of events in the world can be reversed. Instead of spending the next ten-fifteen years on the creation of new systems of weapons of mass annihilation we should jointly tackle the reduction of nuclear arsenals and in the long run achieve their total liquidation.

Agreement on the total ending of nuclear explosions could become a very important step along the road to solving this historic task.

Petrovskiy Meets Press 26 Aug
LD261919 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT
26 Aug 87

[Text] New York August 26 TASS — The Soviet delegation to an international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development, which is under way here, today held a press conference in connection with Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the forum.

Speaking at the press conference, delegation leader Vladimir Petrovskiy, a Soviet deputy foreign minister, said that the address by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee summed up the Soviet Union's approach to the problems reviewed at the forum.

The new mode of thinking adopted by the USSR in international affairs was based on the conviction that the principle of armament instead of development, a principle imposed by militarism, should be replaced with the opposite one, namely disarmament for development.

The Soviet Union, Petrovskiy said, had tabled a whole number of proposals at the conference, which were related to all its three main aspects, including the establishing of an international foundation, disarmament for development, open to all nations in U.N. frameworks, new Soviet considerations in respect of military budgets, which were a result of the policy of openness that spread to the military sphere as well, and the reiteration of the Warsaw Treaty countries' earlier proposal to the NATO members for a mutual freeze on military spending, a call for states to start drawing up national conversion plans, a proposal to the United States for joint efforts for limiting sales and deliveries of conventional arms, and, finally, Soviet ideas for releasing science and technology from the armor of secrecy.

Putting forth a program of specific actions at one with socialist countries, the Soviet Union at the same time positively treats other constructive proposals no matter from what quarter they have come, Vladimir Petrovskiy pointed out. Considerations set forth by representatives of the developing countries, specifically, the document submitted by African nations are close to our hearts and minds. We have supported Italy's proposal on the establishment of an open world laboratory of scientists and inaugurated its branch in Moscow. We have been impressed by the idea put forward by France at the conference — the idea on the establishment of special units of servicemen for rendering humanitarian aid to the developing countries at their request.

We consider it to be essential that the conference end in the adoption of a tangible and substantive document. The Soviet Union is attaching exceptionally big importance to the current conference which could not get together for a long time. But finally it was convened, although the United States is regrettably boycotting it.

We are regarding this conference not as a crown but as the beginning of the process of disarmament and development — a process with which we are linking the establishment of a comprehensive system of security equal for all, Vladimir Petrovskiy went on.

The participants in the press conference showed great interest in the proposal to convene the Security Council at the level of heads of state. To put the process of transition from disarmament to development into action, Mikhail Gorbachev suggested that that issue be closely studied by the Security Council, whose task includes, as is known, the question of armaments regulation and to which the General Assembly addressed on more than one occasion with a proposal to examine disarmament issues, Vladimir Petrovskiy said. The holding of such a meeting of the Security Council would promote internationalisation of the processes of disarmament and development, and active involvement in these processes of not only the main UN body for maintaining peace and security but also its other mechanisms.

Therefore, it is regrettable that the USA, one of the permanent members of the Security Council, rejected this idea outright, as they say, without even bothering to study it, the head of the Soviet delegation said.

"Of course, we understand - and this was proved in the first days of the work of the conference - that there are differences in approaches to the relationship between disarmament and development. But this is not the main thing. What matters is that all participants in the conference agree on the need to make practical actions on the implementation of the strategy of disarmament and development, which is urged by the UN. This instills confidence and hope that the work started by the conference will yield results and the process of transition from disarmament to development will become a reality of our days."

USSR Backs UN Mideast Meeting
LD262208 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT
26 Aug 87

[Text] New York August 26 TASS — The Soviet Union stands in a firm and consistent way for the defusion of the conflict situation in the Middle East through concerted efforts, for a comprehensive and fair settlement in the region, says the USSR's reply to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to his request to member countries to set out their views on this issue.

The Soviet Union backs the U.N. General Assembly's appeal to convene an international conference on the Middle East under the U.N. aegis and set up a preparatory committee within the Security Council framework with the participation of its permanent members to adopt necessary measures for its convocation.

United States & Canada

Reagan Wants Warheads Out of Talks

LD262030 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1955 GMT 26 Aug 87

[Text] Washington, 26 Aug (TASS) — TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

President Reagan's speech in Los Angeles today was earlier described by the White House as "a major and important address on questions of East-West relations and, primarily, relations between the United States and the USSR."

The head of the White House said the opportunities that exist for improving the international climate are "too great" to pass up. But to achieve this, as is apparent from further pronouncements by the President, the Soviet Union "must" fulfill a whole number of demands submitted by the United States on radical changes in its domestic and foreign policy. Only then, apparently, would the USSR "prove its sincerity". But what should the United States be doing? Judging from the President's speech, precisely nothing: It would merely demand and continue its present course without any changes at all.

The President reaffirmed the United States' adherence to the doctrine of neoglobalism, which envisages interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states. Here he accused the Soviet Union of somehow "showing too little real desire" for a settlement of regional conflicts. The same approach was reflected in pronouncements by the President on questions of disarmament. Reagan again made it abundantly clear that the United States wants to leave the question of the U.S. nuclear warheads intended for the "Pershing-1A" missiles, which are at the disposal of the Bundeswehr, out of the Geneva talks.

Moscow Views Reagan Contra Message

Kudrin Comments

LD261744 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1445 GMT 26 Aug 87

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] Comrades, my colleagues and I have more than once had occasion to speak about the provocative role of Western radio stations. Every day they single-mindedly conduct their unbridled propaganda against the socialist community, the developing countries, and those that have liberated themselves from colonial or dictatorial oppression. Voice of America, Radio Liberty, and Radio Free Europe are, essentially, real propaganda mouthpieces for Washington. For this reason, the broadcasting of speeches by U.S. Presidents on these channels is not news. But never, I repeat never, until now, has a White House chief prepared an address for a clandestine, pirate, foreign radio station. Ronald Reagan is the first. He has used the transmitters of the Nicaraguan contra-owned station Radio Liberacion to attack the revolutionary Government of Nicaragua.

Reagan assured the mercenaries that his administration would under no circumstances get them into trouble and promised continued support. Yesterday the President ended his vacation especially to fly to Los Angeles, where he will meet the contra chiefs tomorrow in a hotel for the second time this month. Among those taking part in the talks will be civilians the President already knows and Colonel Bermudez, chief of the contras' army, who once loyally served the dictator Somoza. Reports say he will inform Reagan about the military situation in the region. Observers explain the President's efforts by saying he is attempting to reassure the country's right-wing, conservative forces, which support heart and soul the Somozists' fortunes. The administration supports efforts to achieve peace in Central America in a purely conditional way, a television commentator acknowledged.

Here's a curious detail: White House Spokesman Fitzwater was asked by journalists: Who will actually pay to fly the contra leaders to Los Angeles? Will funds be taken from the federal budget? Fitzwater first seemed to hesitate, then said: I hope we will pay for it. Of course, they will pay for it!

Pogodin: 'Provocative'

LD252224 Moscow World Service in English
2010 GMT 25 Aug 87

[Text] President Reagan has spoken on a program of the illegal subversive radio station of the Nicaraguan contras. Here is a commentary from Radio Moscow's Aleksandr Pogodin. This is what he writes:

Everybody has already got used to Ronald Reagan's weekly state of the nation addresses. But it's something new for the President to use the terrorists' secret transmitter. This kind of innovation, we believe, conflicts with Ronald Reagan's legal status of head of state. The White House incumbent reaffirmed support for the bands of the contras, with whose hands Washington is waging an undeclared war against Nicaragua. True, for the sake of propriety Reagan had to welcome the regional normalization agreement that had been reached by the presidents of five Central American nations. But his interpretation of these agreements is fairly original — they are to clear the way for notable political and social changes in Nicaragua, as he put it.

Now let's face it, the United States President still hates the Nicaraguans for their independent development. He is still unwilling to accept realities and he is still eager to interfere in another country's internal affairs. In the last few days some of the right-wingers in the United States have almost doubted their President's support for the contras and his intentions to continue struggling against Nicaragua. Well, gentlemen, there's nothing to worry about. Now that your President has made his provocative speech you can say with a sigh of relief he's the same old Ronald Reagan. In all probability the presidential prestige with the right-wingers will grow further when Ronald Reagan meets with the leaders of the contras, the ones who've always found Mr Reagan a most hospitable

host. Can this provocative activity help boost the real prestige of the United States President? What do you think?

Fiers Testimony Implicates CIA

LD261301 Moscow TASS in English 0716 GMT
26 Aug 87

[Text] Washington August 26 TASS — TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency had appropriate knowledge about the secret operation to supply the contras with weapons during the time space when the Boland Amendment banning this aid was in force.

This conclusion prompts itself after one familiarizes oneself with the testimony by Alan Fiers, a CIA Central American task force chief who was directly in charge of secret operations by the U.S. espionage agency in the region.

Although the transcript of Fiers' testimony given to the Congressional Select Commissions investigating the "Irangate" and declassified Tuesday has numerous expurgations, it has become a new piece of documental evidence of the CIA's involvement in weapons shipments to the contras in circumvention of the legislation. Fiers admitted that cargoes with the so-called humanitarian aid for contras were diluted with deadly material.

The top CIA official was forced to state that in February and March of 1986, he, possibly, went too far in delivering military aid to the contras, that was outlawed. Fiers also said that he reported about the activity of his group directly to William Casey, CIA director at that time, or his deputy.

As Fiers has admitted, in October and December 1986, when Select Committees on Intelligence of both chambers of Congress launched a probe into the "Iran-contras" operations, he misled lawmakers by his statements rejecting any knowledge of the U.S. involvement in the operations to supply weapons to the contras.

China

Rogachev, Korolev Eye PRC Ties

Rogachev Discusses Trade

LD261353 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT
26 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS — Movement forward in all spheres of Soviet-Chinese relations towards their full normalization is an important direction in the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet Government. Igor Rogachev, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, told a TASS diplomatic correspondent.

The fact that multi-faceted contacts between our countries — trade, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and sports — have received in recent years a boost

became a concrete embodiment of this course. Apparent is the mutual aspiration to get to know and understand each other better, to find something useful in the experience of socialist construction.

The value of trade between the USSR and the People's Republic of China (PRC) has grown 11 times in five years. Economic cooperation is being gradually fostered. The first contracts were signed. The sides do not limit themselves to the use of traditional forms, Igor Rogachev stressed. They work on new, more modern forms such as launching co-production schemes, practising buy-back deals and setting up joint ventures.

Border ties are being extended and, by the way, not only in trade. The two countries' specialists, who are engaged in drawing up a project for a comprehensive development of the water and hydropower resources of the Amur and Argun rivers, have successfully carried through field work.

Establishing lasting goodneighbourly cooperation between the two major socialist countries, strengthening traditional friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples help ensure stability and security in Asia, in the Pacific region and throughout the world, the deputy minister said furthermore.

A comprehensive approach to the quest for a solution to this urgent problem was expressed in Vladivostok a year ago. The Soviet Union has recently launched a new large-scale initiative to advance those proposals. It was taken to a no small extent with due regard for the wishes and interests of many states of the Asia-Pacific region, among them China.

The point at issue is the USSR's readiness to lift the issue of retaining 100 warheads on intermediate-range missiles deployed in the Asian part of the USSR on condition that the U.S. side acts likewise. Shorter-range missiles will also be dismantled. This step by the Soviet Union was positively assessed in the PRC.

It is common knowledge that the PRC has been more active in international affairs lately. China declares for lowering on a general scale military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region and supports the proposal for establishing nuclear-free zones in the region.

It acceded to the treaty on the nuclear-free zone in South Pacific. It will be recalled that the USSR and the PRC, the two nuclear powers in Asia, pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, Rogachev stressed.

Korolev Views Conference

OW270157 Moscow International Service in Mandarin
1500 GMT 27 Aug 87

[Korolev commentary from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev expressed satisfaction with progress in Soviet-Chinese

relations at a press conference in Moscow. Station commentator Korolev has the following comment on this matter:

The issue is the border talks between the two countries. Rogachev, who led the Soviet delegation, said: The two sides unanimously agreed that specific progress had been achieved, and common views and principles had been reached in resolving the border issues. Continuing efforts will be made on this basis. Obstacles in Soviet-Chinese relations, such as the Afghan and Mongolian issues, have lost their uniqueness since the USSR has partially withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan and Mongolia. Dominating the current Soviet-Chinese political consultations are issues concerning Cambodia and its surrounding areas. Contacts between the USSR and China have recently grown. They have been conducted at an increasingly higher level. For example, a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, headed by Razumovskiy, recently visited China. During the visit, the two countries noted rapid and steady progress in their economic, scientific, technological, and cultural relations. They shared the view that, despite their differences, they had much in common regarding the way to socialist construction.

A Chinese National People's Congress delegation is currently visiting the USSR. Yu Wen, head of the delegation, said: From our meetings with the Soviets, we have learned that the Soviet people are profoundly friendly toward the Chinese people. Yu Wen added: Exchanges of visits between parliamentary delegations have many advantages. They are conducive to establishing goodneighborly relations between the USSR and China.

PRC NPC Delegation Visits Kazan

OW262341 Moscow International Service in Mandarin
0100 GMT 26 Aug 87

[Text] The Chinese National People's Congress [NPC] delegation visiting our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet continues to acquaint itself with the achievements of our central and local governments in implementing the nationalities policy. The Chinese delegation is led by Yu Wen, member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese NPC and vice chairman of the NPC Nationalities Committee. The delegation has visited the Latvian SSR, Belorussian SSR, Georgian SSR, South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, and Abkhaz ASSR. The Chinese delegation is now visiting Kazan, capital of the Tatar ASSR. (Mustayev), chairman of the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met the Chinese delegation and introduced to the honored guests Lenin's early revolutionary struggle in Kazan, the change in livelihood of the Tatar people after the October Revolution, the present situation in the republic, and the friendly and brotherly cooperative relationship among the Tatars, Russians, Bashkir, Chuvash, Mari, and Udmurt. Yu Wen said he has a special feeling for Kazan City, where Lenin began his revolutionary activities. Since the October Revolution and with the assistance

from various communities in the USSR, the Tatar ASSR has become a major industrial center with developed agriculture, science, and culture. Yu Wen said: We take a strong interest in learning about the experience of the Soviet Union in bringing prosperity to its various nationalities.

Near East & South Asia

Dangers of Jericho-2 Development Viewed

TA261957 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in
Hebrew 1630 GMT 26 Aug 87

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Over the past few weeks the Israeli press has published several commentaries reacting to our station's broadcasts, first and foremost to broadcasts related to various aspects of Soviet-Israeli relations as well as to Israel's development of medium-range nuclear missiles. In fact, the reactions were on three planes. Some observers totally dismiss our right to an authoritative opinion, our right to represent the Soviet public. As is known, our station was founded by Soviet public organizations and was empowered to speak on behalf of the Soviet public.

Other observers argue that Moscow Radio Peace and Progress broadcasts in Hebrew are used to gauge Israeli public opinion in the wake of the visit of the Soviet consular delegation and to reduce the impact of the visit on the Arab countries. It is hard to support such an argument. After all, it is known that the consular delegation went to Israel to carry out a definite and limited mission which is in no way related to our relations with the Arabs, or the question of the Israeli missiles.

However, there are also some Israeli observers who regard the broadcasts from Moscow seriously. Well-known commentators such as Ze'ev Schiff of *Ha'aretz* actually subscribe to the opinion that the development of nuclear warheads for Jericho-2 missiles might lead the Middle East into a nuclear arms race era. Consequently, Israel is with its own hands breaking the ground for a deterioration of the situation in the region.

Of course the Soviet Union is also worried because this increases the danger of the regional conflict expanding to the point of a global conflict. There is no question that a nuclear arms race could lead to a direct nuclear confrontation. On this point, we share the view of those Israeli political scientists who believe that Israel should not initiate this process in the Middle East, both because of geographical and simple political reasons. It is very well known that Israel's nuclear option has spurred countries in the region to develop their own nuclear capability.

It is not only that nuclear weapons raise the dispute in the Middle East to what is an essentially new phase. There is no doubt that the development of tools for massive annihilation in the region heightens suspicions and leads opposing sides to take countermeasures. Moreover, several countries in the region that are incapable of

producing a nuclear bomb have begun developing chemical weapons. The development of superlethal conventional weapons, such as mass explosives [kley pitzutz nefah], also continues. It should be recalled that this process began after Israel used U.S.-made vacuum [as heard] bombs in Lebanon.

The development of modern weapons by Israel will also encourage the Arabs to develop or purchase superlethal arms, such as laser weapons. As a result, the risk of a surprise war will increase considerably and a situation will be created where it will hardly be possible to prevent a deterioration. One should realize that the use of superlethal conventional weapons will necessarily lead to a nonconventional reaction.

And there is another important aspect: The development of a nuclear missile by Israel puts Israel into the circle of countries on whom the future of many nations depend, and not only in a definite area. This means that Israel will be one of the countries on which the rules of the nuclear game apply. If a world war breaks out, nuclear launching sites, particularly those of medium-range missiles, would be the first to be hit because these are very dangerous weapons. And, if we consider that Israel fully identifies with one of the blocs in the conflict, the question arises: How can Israelis tolerate the escalation of the dispute in the Middle East to such heights?

Statement on Syrian Parliamentarians Visit
LD271006 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT
27 Aug 87

["Joint Statement on the Visit of Syrian MPs to USSR"
— TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS — Parliamentarians of the USSR and Syria noted with satisfaction progressive development of the entire complex of Soviet-Syrian relations.

The delegation of Syrian parliamentarians headed by Mahmud al-Zu'bi, member of the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Ba'th) and speaker of the Peoples Council of the Syrian Arab Republic, was staying on an official friendly visit in the USSR from August 18 to 25. It was invited by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A joint statement on the visit to the USSR of the delegation of the SAR Peoples Council published today says that the exchange of views on key international issues has confirmed the wide convergence of views held by the two countries.

The sides expressed concern over tensions in the world that persist through the fault of the aggressive quarters. They strongly condemned the imperialist policy of the arms race, the policy of diktat towards emergent states.

In discussing regional problems, the sides stressed that they should be solved by political means and should not be used as a pretext for imperialist interference.

The two countries parliamentarians expressed serious worry about persisting tension in the Middle East and declared for collective methods to achieve a comprehensive and fair settlement through a genuine and effective international conference under the U.N. auspices and involving all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and for effecting practical steps towards the convocation of such a conference.

The Soviet and Syrian MPs expressed deep concern over the moves to build up tension in the Persian Gulf and denounced the unprecedented amassment of U.S. and other Western fleets there under the pretext of ensuring the safety of shipping. They expressed the common view of the need to push for solving the problems of that region by peaceful means and, first and foremost, for having the Iran-Iraq war ended with a view to rallying the forces in the region, that come out against imperialism and Zionism.

Saudi, Pakistani Support for U.S. Hit
PM260835 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 87
Morning Edition p 4-5

[Konstantin Geyvandov "Political Observer's Opinion":
"As You Sow, So Shall You Reap..."]

[Text] For a long time disturbances and riots have been taking place in Pakistan in various provinces. In certain regions bordering on Afghanistan regular troops, actively helped by Afghan dushman bandit units, have even been used against the population. Official Pakistani propaganda is trying to minimize the importance of the events and to attribute them to "machinations" from abroad. But this is propaganda. In reality the events are the direct result of Islamabad's shortsighted domestic and foreign policy which go against the country's national interests.

You get the impression that Pakistan does not have its own foreign policy course and that it has become an obedient tool of the U.S. Administration. Proceeding on this path, it has become no more than a strongpoint where hostile intrigues not only against neighboring states but also against countries situated in adjacent regions are born and implemented. India and Afghanistan are the most typical examples in this context. And according to recent information, the construction of additional air fields for use by the U.S. Central Command (Centcom) is under way on Pakistani territory. G. Crist, commander in chief of Centcom, who recently visited Islamabad, held talks with the Pakistanis concerning their broader participation in implementing U.S. strategic plans in the Persian Gulf region.

Thus events here are developing in complete accordance with the well known maxim: "As you sow, so shall you reap." And the disturbances and riots occurring in Pakistan are obviously a protest expressed against transforming the country into a tool for U.S. foreign policy, a component of which is the Reagan administration's "doctrine of neoglobalism." *The Washington Post* recently wrote that "no regime in Pakistan has served U.S. interests so loyally as the regime of Ziaul Haq."

From U.S. press revelations associated with the secret U.S. arms deliveries to Iran and the transfer of the funds to the Nicaraguan contras, we have found the names of certain regimes which do not simply promote the implementation of Washington's policy of neoglobalism but also directly finance it. Specific information on this score was cited in an article by S. Roberts, S. Engelberg, and G. Hart recently published in *The New York Times*, which noted in particular: "Beginning in the first half of the 1970's Saudi Arabia secretly provided billions of dollars for the needs of various movements and governments in dozens of countries of the world in order to consolidate Western interests, often doing this at the request of the United States." We are talking about counterrevolutionary movements and reactionary regimes.

Another conclusion drawn by the authors of the item is not without interest. "Conversations with diplomats, intelligence specialists, and legislators," they write, "suggest that Saudi Arabia regularly helps finance U.S. foreign policy, especially in areas where the executive is unwilling or unable to enlist the support of Congress in implementing its aims and programs." Afghanistan, North Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, Pakistan, Zaire, and Nicaragua are cited in the list of countries where this "financing" takes place.

The New York Times article calls the organization of the counterrevolution in Afghanistan one of the biggest joint U.S.-Saudi actions. "This operation," in the opinion of the article's authors, "was developed in the years of the Carter administration, and there is no doubt that today it is the biggest U.S.-Saudi cooperation program in the foreign policy sphere" (if support for the Afghan dushmans' criminal activity can be called foreign policy — K.G.). It is reported that since then hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on encouraging the undeclared war against Afghanistan, one of the main tasks of which is to preserve a seat of military tension on the Soviet Union's borders.

It is well known that despite Riyadh's generous financing of Washington's foreign policy escapades, the White House encounters difficulties every time it plans to carry out particular shipments of arms to the Saudi regime. In this connection the *New York Times* article notes: "Administration officials aver that if legislators knew more about Saudi Arabia's efforts to strengthen U.S. interests, the U.S. Congress would display more tractability with regard to selling it arms. However, the Saudis, who highly value secrecy, refuse to discuss their operations." Furthermore the authors indicate the reasons why Riyadh prizes secrecy so highly: The Saudis, they write, "are afraid that other countries who despise the United States and Israel will criticize them."

After what has been said it is not surprising that there is a whole series of inexplicable paradoxes associated with the "gulf" between Saudi Arabia's officially proclaimed policy and its specific actions in the international arena. Here are a few examples. According to its publicly proclaimed course, Riyadh is the ally of Baghdad and is

helping to maintain Iraq in the long-running Iran-Iraq war. At the same time, as has been revealed, the Saudis are financing and promoting the implementation of secret U.S. arms deliveries to Tehran. In this situation anybody might think: Is Riyadh not trying to bleed both its big neighbors white and be the sole guardian of Washington's interests in the Persian Gulf region instead of the Shah's regime, "which has dropped out of the game"?

The next paradox is no less striking. It is thought that Saudi Arabia is pained by all the troubles of the Arab countries which for decades have been the victims of the Israeli policy of aggression and expansion and advocates a just Middle East settlement and a solution to the Palestinian problem. At the same time, as became known in the course of the investigations into the "Iran-contras" scandal, Riyadh actively collaborated with Tel Aviv in the matter of effecting secret U.S. arms deliveries to Iran and transferring the funds received to the Nicaraguan contras. Reports have been published to the effect that a proportion of these funds has fallen into the pockets of Afghan dushmans. Maybe this paradox is to some extent explained by the words attributed to Prince Bandar, Saudi ambassador to the United States, which read as follows: "We need to show the United States that we can also be useful. In fact we are even more useful than the Israelis."

Take the following additional example. Officially the leaders of Saudi Arabia at all levels state that they are against international terrorism and are prepared to cooperate in eradicating it. In fact they directly finance terrorism practiced by the U.S. Administration throughout whole world. And when, for example, Riyadh's participation in the undeclared war against Afghanistan boomerangs on itself, as during the recent bloody events in Mecca, in which Afghan dushmans actively participated, can this really be considered a mere coincidence? For as you sow, so shall you reap.

Nevertheless the Saudi King Fahd thinks it possible after the tragedy in Mecca to publicly state that he "expresses respect and support for the Afghan Mujahidin (read: dushmans)." What assessment can you make of such statements against the background of the international efforts being made for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and the purposeful work under way in the country itself to achieve national reconciliation? You would think that the leaders of a country like Saudi Arabia, which today finds itself at the center of one of the most dangerous regional conflicts, should realize that peace, stability, and security are achieved not by further fueling these conflicts but by means of their peaceful political resolution.

Iranian Envoy Tells of Mecca Massacre
LD261321 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian
1030 GMT 26 Aug 87

[Text] The Iranian ambassador to Moscow met and conferred with Sheykh ol-Islam Allashukar Pashyev,

chairman of the department of the Transcaucasian clergy, and the alternate chairman of the council of ministers and the foreign affairs minister of Soviet Azerbaijan in Baku. In the course of this meeting, attended by the Iranian consul general in Baku, the Iranian ambassador, while describing the grave crime committed by the Saudi rulers in Holy Mecca, stressed: In view of the existence of more than 50 million Muslims in the USSR, it is necessary to inform USSR Muslim society about the details of this tragedy which was carried out at the behest of U.S. imperialism by the Saudi mercenaries.

Sheykh ol-Islam Alla Shukar, chairman of the department of the Transcaucasian clergy, who recently returned from the Hajj where he was leading a convoy of USSR pilgrims, said: We closely witnessed this tragedy and the grave crime of Islam's history in Mecca and we deeply regret that such a crime was committed in the safe divine house. Evidence indicates that this plot was hatched in advance and immediately after the United States sent three warships to the Persian Gulf. He added: How can one believe that the Iranian pilgrims planned the incident and the assault which resulted in their deaths? The large number of casualties among the Iranian pilgrims show that they were not prepared for the clash.

The chairman of the Transcaucasian clergy stressed: After returning from Hajj, in my first speech addressed to the Muslims, I said: The hand of the United States can be seen in the horrific Mecca tragedy and the United States does not want to witness the growth and independence of the Islamic states in the region.

DRA Protests Attack From Pakistan Territory
LD242027 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT
24 Aug 87

[Text] Kabul August 24 TASS — The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has lodged a protest with Pakistan. *Bakhtar* news agency reported. A note of protest, which was read out Sunday to the charge d'affaires of Pakistan, says that on August 4, 1987, rockets were fired from Pakistani territory at the city of Spinbaldak, Kandahar Province, and at an Afghan border unit. As a result, two border guards died, six civilians were killed or wounded.

The DRA Government stated a strong protest to Pakistan over this aggressive act and emphasized that the responsibility for the consequences of the provocative actions rested squarely with the Pakistani side.

The note also refutes the Pakistani authorities' fabrications that on July 16 and 21 and also on August 2, 5 and 8 units of the Afghan forces intruded into Pakistani territory in the area of Momand and Bajawur. A thorough investigation of all circumstances related to those accusations showed that they were totally false, the note points out.

Soviet Public Delegation Ends Indian Visit

PM261205 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 87
Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Completed"]

[Text] Delhi, 25 Aug — Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has received V.S. Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is here heading a Soviet public delegation in connection with the Indian-Soviet friendship month marking the 16th anniversary of the signing of the treaty on peace, friendship, and cooperation between the USSR and India, and the 40th anniversary of the country's independence.

Your visit, R. Gandhi said, has made a contribution to the further consolidation of Soviet-Indian friendship. India has travelled a great path in its development since it gained independence. It is now waging a hard struggle to establish a new international economic order and to eliminate poverty in the country. The Indian prime minister conveyed greetings and best wishes to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the entire Soviet people.

The talk took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

On the same day V.S. Shevchenko visited Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman.

The Indian head of state assessed highly M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to India in November 1986 and the signing by the leaders of important Soviet-Indian documents, primarily the declaration on the principles of a nonviolent world free from nuclear weapons. He stressed that the declaration is a fundamental document for the further development of bilateral and international relations. The recent peace initiatives put forward by the USSR coincide with India's position on the problems of the struggle for peace and the elimination of hotbeds of tension, R. Venkataraman said.

In all the state posts which I have held, the president said, I have always advocated the all-around development and consolidation of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between India and the Soviet Union.

V.S. Shevchenko noted that the visit had confirmed the stability of friendly Soviet-Indian relations. During our tour of the country we were given an exceptionally warm reception, she said. The Indian people demonstrated their sincere desire to strengthen ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

Today the Soviet public delegation left for home.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Yazov, Mozambique's Chipande Hold Meeting
LD241341 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT
24 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS — A conversation was held here today between General of the Army Dmitry Yazov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU

Central Committee and defence minister of the USSR, and General of the Army Alberto Joaquim Chipande, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Frelimo Party and national defence minister of Mozambique.

They discussed questions of mutual interest.

The conversation was held in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Chipande arrived in Moscow for an official visit today.

Visit to Kubinka

*LD251804 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT
25 Aug 87*

[Text] There has been a meeting in Moscow between the Soviet defense minister, Dmitriy Yazov, and his colleague from Mozambique, Alberto Joaquim Chipande. Issues of mutual interest were discussed. Today the Mozambique defense minister made a trip to the Air Force garrison in Kubinka, outside Moscow. He came to the Soviet Union on an official visit on Monday.

East Europe

Bessmertnykh Sees SFRY Official

*LD252310 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia
1900 GMT 25 Aug 87*

[Text] Soviet-Yugoslav consultations were held 24-25 August in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the basic issues of the agenda of the 42d session of the UN General Assembly. Comrade Ilic, head of department for international organizations of the SFRY Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, was received by Comrade Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. The talks were attended by Dusan Lazic, Yugoslav charge d'affaires in the USSR.

Mikulic Meets Economic Delegation

*LD262237 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0617 GMT 26 Aug 87*

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Aug (TASS) — Branko Mikulic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, received Yevgeniy Pitovranov, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, who heads a Soviet economic delegation in Yugoslavia. Their conversation concerned numerous issues on improving the quality of trade and economic ties between the two countries in the current 5-year plan and subsequent period. They noted the need to develop such progressive forms of cooperation as production cooperation and specialization, joint capital investment in other countries, and setting up joint enterprises in the USSR and SFRY. They noted that overcoming certain difficulties in Soviet-Yugoslav trade is possible only through joint efforts and by means of a better study of supply and demand of both countries' markets and by fully implementing agreements and protocols on trade exchange and extra purchases of Soviet goods.

The head of the Yugoslav Government stressed the SFRY economic organizations' interest in increasing supplies of Soviet natural gas and the construction for this purpose of branch pipelines from gas pipelines on Hungarian and Bulgarian territory.

West Europe

Kohl Views Eliminating Pershing-1A's

*LD261742 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1632 GMT 26 Aug 87*

[Text] Bonn, 26 Aug (TASS) — FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl devoted a substantial part of the press conference held here today on establishing his government's position on the 72 Pershing-1A missiles fitted with U.S. nuclear warheads. These nuclear missile systems have become the main obstacle toward the conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles.

In the wake of Washington, the chancellor asserted yet again that the Pershing-1A missiles with nuclear warheads "have not been and cannot be the subject of Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva". At the same time he declared that the USSR's demand for the elimination of these missiles with nuclear warheads is supposedly "unjustified," and is allegedly "an artificial obstacle on the path to the conclusion of a treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles". Political observers see this statement as an attempt to shift the blame for a possible failure of the Geneva talks onto the Soviet Union.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1825 GMT on 26 August transmitted a service message adding the following: "Meanwhile, the USSR has never demanded that the 'Pershing-1A's' be included in the Geneva talks. It is a matter of the nuclear warheads which are intended for these missiles but which belong to the United States and, consequently, should be included in an accord."]

The Chancellor, however, did not fully rule out the possibility that the FRG would give up the modernization of the Pershing-1A's or eliminate them. At the same time he linked this possible step with a whole series of preconditions and reservations.

"If," he said, "an accord is reached between the United States and the Soviet Union at Geneva on the elimination of all medium-range missiles on a global scale;

If as yet unsettled questions of monitoring are resolved in a way that suits all interested parties;

If this agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces is ratified by the parties to the agreement and comes into force;

And if, finally, the parties to the agreement observed the agreed deadline for the elimination of their weapons systems;

Then, if this happens, I am ready to declare even today that with the definitive elimination of all Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles, the Pershing-1A missiles will not be modernized, but eliminated."

[Moscow TASS International Service here also added the following: "FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, (Free Democratic Party) [VDP], today expressed satisfaction with Kohl's statement regarding the 'Pershing-1A's'. The chancellor's pronouncements were on the whole also welcomed by the FDP's parliamentary faction. "Horst Emke, deputy chairman of the parliamentary faction of the Societ Democratic Party [SDP] of Germany, assessed Kohl's statement as 'definite progress'. At the same time he drew attention to the fact that the statement contains 'a number of preconditions, the scale of which it is too early to predict'. Emke reaffirmed the Social Democrats' demand to hold an extraordinary session of the Bundestag on 2 September in order to discuss the question of the 'Pershing-1A's'. "Criticizing Bonn's position as set out by Kohl, the SDP's press bulletin, *Parlamentarisch-Politischer Pressedienst*, points to a statement by SDP Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel, who at today's press conference in Bonn stressed that from his party's viewpoint the best solution would be the immediate and unconditional liquidation of these missiles."]

PRAVDA Reports Statement

PM270744 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 87
Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov report: "Four 'Ifs': Chancellor H. Kohl's Press Conference"]

[Text] Bonn, 26 Aug — FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl spoke at a press conference today. One of the main questions which the FRG head of government addressed was that of the attitude to the Soviet-U.S. talks now in progress in Geneva.

The chancellor reaffirmed the readiness to "do everything in the Federal government's power to promote success in Geneva," which, he said, is now "within reach."

However, on the subject of the 72 Pershing-1A missile systems belonging to the FRG with nuclear warheads under U.S. control, H. Kohl presented the matter in a distorted light. He stated that the Soviet Union is demanding the inclusion of the question of the Pershing-1A's in the Geneva talks, which "is unjustified and constitutes an attempt to create an artificial obstacle" to the conclusion of an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. Yet it is well known that our country has demanded nothing of the kind, it was and is only a question of the American nuclear warheads.

Noting that he wants to help the U.S. President to conclude the Geneva talks successfully, H. Kohl went on to state that on certain conditions, the Pershing-1A

missiles will not be modernized, but will be destroyed. What are these conditions? If the USSR and the United States reach an accord in Geneva on the total elimination of all medium-range missiles; if "first of all" the still open questions of monitoring and verification for all interested parties are resolved; if an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles is ratified by the contracting parties and comes into force; and if, finally, the contracting parties comply with an agreed schedule for the destruction of their missile systems.

Is not this rather a large number of stipulations, in which all kinds of things could be submerged? Does it not appear that Bonn is all but laying claim to the role of arbiter on the question of the implementation of a possible agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles? Does Bonn's "surprise" really remove the obstacle, known to everyone, to the attainment of this agreement?

Levin Comments

LD261952 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 26 Aug 87

[Viktor Levin commentary]

[Text] I have in front of me a cable from Bonn. It was sent by DPA and sets out the full text of Federal Chancellor Kohl's statement at today's news conference. We have already reported that Kohl made an equivocal statement in which, on the one hand, he did all he could to try to persuade his listeners that the Pershing-1A missiles, or to be more precise, the missile systems — because what is involved is not just missiles, and not so much missiles, as the U.S. warheads on these missiles — are not a subject for Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva.

He went on to make a statement that, it seems to me, deserves attention. At any rate, it requires careful study. Admittedly, before making the statement, he set out four ifs. If the United States and the Soviet Union reach unanimity at Geneva on the worldwide removal of medium-range missiles; if as yet unresolved questions of monitoring [proverka] are resolved; if a treaty on the elimination of medium-range and operational and tactical missiles is enacted; and if, finally, the partners in the negotiations agree on a timescale for effecting the elimination of the missile systems — and, strictly speaking, this last if clearly seems to relate to the previous one, but this if is there nevertheless — then if that happens, and I am quoting Kohl verbatim: I am ready to affirm today that with the definitive removal of all Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles, the Pershing-1A missiles will not be modernized but destroyed. It must be said frankly that this is a step forward by the FRG Government, but, I repeat, a careful analysis is still needed to assess how far this step goes.

POLITICAL & SOCIAL

Moscow Residents Mob Yeltsin Over Housing *PM261305 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA* *in Russian 21 Aug 87 p 2*

[T. Glinka and Ye. Korobkina report: "Explosion of Indignation, or Why Conflict Arose in the Microrayon"]

[Text] "All the best forms of work with people involve closer contacts with them and meeting them more often — many problems will disappear then." Those words appeared in the Moscow Gorkom's report to the 26th conference of the capital's Communists. Since then it has been repeatedly said that it is primarily necessary to visit places where the situation is particularly complex, where unsolved problems are festering badly, and where people can no longer endure their misfortunes.

But it takes unbelievable efforts to establish this rule in our work style. "Office hermits" still cultivate the habit of leading without rising from their chairs, relying only on information supplied by their subordinates. The syndrome of irresponsibility and cowardice, whereby they are in no hurry to perform their official duty to people and are afraid to meet with those who are dissatisfied with this inaction, still makes itself felt. That is when hotbeds of irritation and fury appear in places and smolder for a while, until the flames of indignation flare up. Everyone knows that fury is blind: it only waits for a suitable occasion. That is what happened this time.

...Problems with the old five-story blocks have long been brewing in the city. The first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom decided to see for himself the state of these blocks in Sevastopolskiy Rayon. The news of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's arrival swiftly spread around the blocks. It was not idle curiosity that drove hundreds of people to surround him in a solid ring, while others crowded the balconies. At first it was difficult to make out what the excited residents were saying. Interrupting each other, becoming incensed in the general uproar, they started shouting at the tops of their voices. You could hear notes of despair, hope, and animosity.

"Go down to our basements," people shouted from the balconies, "and you'll be knee-deep in stinking slush! The sewage pipes burst ages ago! The roofs are leaking everywhere, and no one cares about us!"

The visitors were forced to go down into the basement.

"Just look at the heaps of garbage — it hasn't been taken away for weeks!", someone said from the back of the jostling crowd. "Rats are swarming in the scraps, and yet children play here. There's nowhere for the kids!"

They toured the areas around the blocks.

"Everywhere there's eyewash and window dressing, everywhere there's nothing but a lot of talk about the human factor," someone nearby hissed in fury. "But the cracks in my apartment walls are as wide as my thumb, and I can't get anyone to repair them."

They also went inside the apartments.

It is impossible to reproduce here all the words of indignation. At times they were even drowned in unrestrained shouting by many residents. The leader of the city party organization found it difficult to get a conversation going. Passions gradually cooled down, and at last the cause of the storm of emotions during the encounter in the capital's Sevastopolskiy Rayon became clear. The visitors and the residents agreed on further actions to impose order. What did the tour of the microrayon show? The visitors saw for themselves that, sadly, people were not exaggerating. There was dirt all around, there were trees felled by the builders of the heat supply pipeline. Work on the pipeline started in the winter, but the trenches are still not completed. A stench rises from the basements into the apartments, which are cold even in August, but someone has been clever enough to dismantle the radiators in many stairwells for the sake of saving hot water. Thus the explosion of emotions among the microrayon's residents was not groundless. It was the result of a callous and indifferent attitude on the part of Sevastopolskiy Rayon's soviet and economic leaders. Why bother about the swelling flood of complaints when even now they can continue to write them off with impunity!

Residents of blocks on Krzhizhanovskiy Street and Tsyurupi Street and in apartments along Nakhimovskiy Prospekt were asked: How long is it since you last met the rayon leaders? No one was able to recall even a single meeting.

"Never mind the rayon leaders!", disabled war and labor veteran Zh.Zh. Zhamaldynov sighed. "We go to see the chief of the No 10 DEZ [expansion unknown] as if calling on a minister."

"It is high time," a young engineer, Zhamaldynov's neighbor, chipped in, "that this method of 'leadership' was recognized as a boycott of restructuring in the sphere of daily life."

It is, indeed, high time. Otherwise we will never "see the end of" the useless practice whereby leaders blame their own inaction on general difficulties, piling up heaps of "objective" reasons as excuses, and simple jobs are elevated to the status of insurmountable problems. Take for example a block where there was a fire in an apartment a few months ago. What did the leaders of No 10 DEZ need to obtain in order to refurbish the apartment after the fire? Nothing at all — it had everything necessary at its disposal. But the apartment windows are boarded up to this day, and the scorched door is still there as a terrifying reminder to the residents.

Residents A. Davydov, D. Dugina, P. Nosova, and others say that no structural repairs have been carried out in the block for 25 years now. Nor have there been any in the other 35 old buildings. Pitiful cosmetic attempts to improve appearances are nothing but a waste of money. And what else can result from work using the

stopgap method! If there are cracks in the walls — cover them up with wallpaper; if the pipes rust through — wrap them in rags. Create an appearance that someone cares about people, make it seem as if the urgency of problems has been alleviated for the time being; in other words, a pretense of action. This is why it was by no means "all of a sudden" that pipes burst last winter and people went without heat or hot water in 30 degrees of frost, indignant at the helplessness of the rayon organs of Soviet power.

But what other results could have been produced by the ostrich-like attitude adopted by the comrades entrusted with this important work? Obviously they reaped what they had sown. What feelings can be evoked among people in the five-story blocks by the striking social contrasts which abound in the microrayon? Judge for yourselves.

A decrepit-looking rayon kindergarten stands between the blocks. You can get to it from any direction through gaps in the fence. There are no playgrounds at all, wadding hangs in shreds on the dilapidated doors. People said that there is nowhere for the children to sleep, so they put them two to a bed.

"No, children don't sleep two to a bed here," kindergarten supervisor V. Pobedimskaya said, "we have folding beds. But the kindergarten is overcrowded. It was planned for 280 children, and we have 300. The paths are not asphalted. There are no canvas awnings so that children can go out in the fresh air in any weather. The sleeping accommodation in the creche is not heated. We are short of crockery and cutlery. We need R15,000 for major repairs to the verandas. We applied to the chiefs and the rayispolkom, but they couldn't find money for us. Everything is falling apart."

The five-story blocks are also "falling apart," but all the residents' complaints merely produce a standard answer: Problems with this type of material, problems with that type of material. But there are no problems for the builders of the bright and solid blocks forming part of a whole new development nearby. That neighborhood boasts a well fitted kindergarten with a swimming pool behind a concrete wall. Here even "the paint is brighter and the stoves are hotter" than in the rayon kindergarten. All these buildings were and are being erected by different departments. The residents are upset not just by the social contrasts and the neglected housing. They are also angered by other "chronic" shortcomings.

"We're in a bad way as regards supplies," Ye.R. Nikishina and M.I. Brodovskaya, residents of Block No 49 on Novocheremushkinskaya Street, complained. "The summer is almost over, but we've seen virtually no vegetables or fruit."

Local residents purchase their basic supplies at the No 41 Store of Sevastopolskiy Rayon's "Prodtovary" Association. The store has a large refrigerated room with a vegetable section. There you can find rotting cracked watermelons, bruised peaches, unripe tomatoes...

A check against the mandatory range of goods showed that no beetroot, carrots, green onions, fresh cucumbers, apples, sauerkraut, or pickled tomatoes were on sale... There were not even any potatoes to be seen.

The store's grocery section has not been operating for 6 months now. But in contrast, the wine section staff sweat away without a break. Their customers stagger around the shrubberies, yards, and staircases, terrorizing local residents and kids.

It may seem strange, but here, in one of the capital's rayons, you encounter everywhere slovenliness on the part of responsible officials and a lack of thought in their decisions and actions. Even when they conceive of something useful, they sometimes twist it to such an extent that they "reap" a reverse reaction.

The "Abkhazskiy Dvor" Public Catering Cooperative was set up in the microrayon. Goats are grazing, and the smell of shashlik hangs around the apartment blocks. Yes, cooperatives like this are needed, the party is orienting local soviets toward the development of individual and collective activity. After all, the creation of such competition will help us solve quite a few problems. So why are people in the microrayon upset by "Abkhazskiy Dvor"?

Simply because it has taken over the premises of the former cafeteria. There was also a culinary section, but everything closed down when the cooperative opened. The cheapest dish in "Abkhazskiy Dvor" costs R3.50. Prices could rise even higher, after all, the state competition has "closed down."

Steps like this only discredit the idea of the development of cooperative activity.

There were many encounters in the microrayon that left an unpleasant aftertaste. It is not worth describing them all. Even so, one of these encounters cannot be passed over in silence, because it displayed rather too vividly and distinctly the indifference and irresponsibility which are a serious disease infecting not only the rayon's economy and economic life but also its social life.

It was a meeting with T.G. Ovsyannikova, chief of that very same No 10 DEZ, who for many years now has been in charge of the microrayon's housing maintenance service. We called on her during reception hours. We spent a long time there. Not a single caller came to see her all that time. A look at the record book clearly showed why. Only 11 of the 51 complaints addressed to her this year have been acted upon. And these 11 mainly concerned leaking roofs on the top floors. Routine maintenance was done on the roofs and at the same time individual complaints were "dealt with."

An interesting conversation developed with Ovsyannikova.

"Tamara Georgiyevna, who is the chairman of your deputies' territorial group?"

"I don't know yet."

"Do you know any of your deputies in the new soviet?"

"No, I don't."

"Children told us that they would very much like to join some sort of sports or technical study circles... Does the administration run any study circles?"

"Yes, it does... Accordion and art."

"And who runs them?"

"I've forgotten."

"I don't know," "I've forgotten"... Similar "exhaustive" answers were given to other questions. Later we learned that Ovsyannikova had formerly worked as administration chief of the No 8 Housing and Municipal Services Administration under the Moscow City Main Administration for Housing and Civil Construction. She abused her official position, and was often drunk at work... She made a mess of the situation and left. This is the type of cadres that the leadership of Sevastopolskiy Rayon's PZHRO [expansion unknown] selects. The deputies' work was unsatisfactory in the past, it is still unsatisfactory now. The study circles were inactive in the past, they are still inactive now. This was said by many residents.

Let us be frank: Today you can talk at length with people in any other microrayon and you will hear similar complaints about the state of housing and about shortcomings in trade, transport, and the services sphere. People in many of Moscow's microrayons have still not learned to show respect for man. The problem of the five-story blocks which were the first to be erected is also a citywide problem. Its solution involves considerable capital investment. But there are many questions which require no money. When we met with A.M. Bryachikhin, first secretary of the Sevastopolskiy Raykom, and Rayispolkom Chairman V.V. Voyevodin, the new rayon leaders described a paradoxical situation. Although the rayon is experiencing an acute shortage of housing and premises for children's playrooms, study circles, and clubs... it has 10,000 square meters of housing lying empty. These are mainly the ground and top floors of the five-story blocks. By decision of the Moscow Gorispolkom, housing cannot be used for non-housing purposes. And yet residents are unwilling to occupy these apartments. Can anything be done about this?

"Yes, it can," A.M. Bryachikhin said. "We have many potentially suitable young families... Newly-married couples are prepared to move into 2-room apartments (with an area of approximately 24 square meters). But we are not allowed to let such apartments to just two persons. This is a completely unreasonable and, I would say, bureaucratic attitude."

It has already been said that the rayon has a new leadership. But no one needs years, or even months, to impose elementary order and organize work in places of

residence. There is absolutely no system for such work here, even though it is the work that must be tackled first. After all, the long period of antisocial policy in the rayon has to a certain extent deformed people's morality. Consumerist and freeloading sentiments have begun to prevail.

There are, for example, large green spaces around blocks No 6 and No 8 on Tsyurupi Street. Even so, however, they are depressing. There is dirt and a lack of landscaping, balconies are filled with garbage, and the window boxes hanging from the balconies look ready to fall on the residents' heads any moment. What is this? Nothing but total lack of even slightly developed sense of stewardship for the block, the staircase, or the courtyard.

Generally speaking, it is worth mentioning in particular the cultivation of Muscovites' sense of stewardship. Somehow unnoticeably we have gotten used to the idea that someone has to clean up after us, that someone has to plant flowers and trees for us, that someone must be there to close the door we have kicked open. We calmly throw refuse from the balconies, and indifferently walk past the staircase walls covered in graffiti by our own children. There are not enough janitors and painters to meet everyone's needs. Especially as many people are aware of the shortage of labor resources in the capital, the do-it-yourself question becomes increasingly acute. You cannot spend all your life waiting for services. A proper steward cannot walk by and fail to notice the dirt in his own home — he will clear it away, sweep the area clean, make the surroundings more attractive.

As for self-management organs, residents here have not heard even the slightest mention of them. "Block committee?" M.I. Fomin, an elderly resident, repeated the question. "No, I don't know about that, I've never heard about it, and I've lived here a long time."

He is right: People here know nothing about block committees, women's councils, residents' assemblies. No such things have existed. No such things exist. People live as if in a vacuum. Formalism is deeply rooted here. It is sad that it flourishes also in work with children.

"What forms of work with young people have developed around here recently?" T. Anisimova, inspector for minors' affairs, was asked.

"None at all."

"What young people's associations are there in the microrayon?"

"I don't know."

Other questions along similar lines brought expressions of amazement to the inspector's face. But why retain someone unversed with her own job in the most socially acute sector of work? How many more such "educators" are there all over Moscow, including many teacher-organizers under DEZ's?

Sevastopolskiy Rayon lacks a suitable place where young people could be brought in or invited in from the dark yards in the evenings. But any adolescent can watch a game of dominoes played to the accompaniment of expletives. One would like to ask Sevastopolskiy Rayispolkom Chairman V.V. Voyevodin whether he is aware of these "seats of culture"? Actually, this question could be repeated 32 times, since it concerns all rayispolkom officials: Are you aware of life "behind the scenes" of yards, streets, and blocks? Actually, why ask it only of rayispolkoms? How about the officials of the Moscow City Main Housing Administration and the Moscow City Main Housing Maintenance Administration, who are directly responsible for the condition of the capital's housing stock? Not a single one of them has called on local residents. This is because an "outing" there requires a certain amount of civic courage, while many officials display nothing but official cowardice. One thing is clear today: Sevastopolskiy Rayon needs urgent assistance. It is necessary to review the rayon's social program as regards the development of its housing stock, while the Moscow Gorispolkom must allocate additional funds to make this stock suitable for habitation.

It is time to tackle comprehensively the future of DEZ's. They are light years away from economic accountability and are in no position to solve major tasks. We are not talking only about strengthening their material and technical base. The DEZ's are in a poor state as regards skilled cadres. Yet these cadres are so badly needed there!

Why should the ground floors of five-story blocks remain empty, as in the past? Some of them ought to be used for children's clubs and sections. Residents ought to be actively involved in work on self-management, they ought to help in clearing up the yards because City Day will soon be upon us.

...The residents' meeting with the first secretary was over. Many problems were discussed, agreement was reached on many points.

Here is something amazing: The very next day a string of cars rushed toward the microrayon — leaders of all ranks hurried there, as if they had only just discovered the route to the five-story blocks! But the question for them is much more than just rushing there at high speed so that their presence can be noted. The question concerns practical deeds to satisfy the expectations of Muscovites. The main point now is to concentrate on practical hard work and put an end to all red tape. The gorispolkom services must be bolder in determining the future of the five-story blocks and solving the capital's other social problems. And, as we can see, there are still quite a few of them.

IZVESTIYA Comments on Vilnius Demonstration
PM261303 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Aug 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent L. Kapelyushnyy dispatch: "Misfire"]

[Text] Vilnius — The granite Adam looked out over the crowd at the green maple trees, the red tiled roofs and the church domes rising above the old city. He did not seem to notice the bustle near the polished slabs of his pedestal. Although his rebellious poetic spirit was — according to a plan conceived far away — supposed to respond to what was going on.

The site where the demonstrators assembled — by the Mickiewicz monument, near the amazingly beautiful church of St Anna — was not chosen by accident. There are quite a few bigger squares in Vilnius which are closer to transport routes. No, the choice was clearly made in the hope that being on "home ground" would help. It was a sober rather than a romantic choice — the gathering was scheduled for noon on Sunday, when parishioners return from mass.

VOA proclaimed that the call to hold a demonstration devoted to the "victims of Stalinism" came from a group of Lithuanians. The foreign radio station noted that everyone who signed the leaflet "had been imprisoned for many years for activities in defense of human rights." From this we must conclude that we are dealing with committed people who are no cowards. At any rate, a visit from a correspondent would not be likely to upset their equilibrium. However, one of them, Antanas Terlyatskas told a correspondent of the Lithuanian newspaper TIESA that he had never set eyes on a leaflet and that he had not signed anything. Then it turned out that the authorship of the other "champions" too was, putting it mildly, a VOA invention. Nonetheless, for almost 2 weeks passions were whipped up over the airwaves, and the U.S. station was joined by British and German stations, Radio Vatican, and many newspapers. They all talked about one thing, about the upcoming demonstration in the Lithuanian capital on 23 August.

The thought in the pauses on the radio and in between the lines was: Let's take a look at what sort of restructuring, what sort of democratization they have there. Let's see how they behave.

Most of the people who gathered at the Mickiewicz monument were no longer young. They wore black armbands — a sign of mourning. It is difficult to say how, but in some way they resembled each other. These people did not evoke antipathy in me.

Two hours later, mounting the pedestal one after another, they shared their resentment of Soviet power. They did not call for it to be overthrown, which has happened in the past. They raked over the ashes of past grievances and these ashes irritated the eyes and made it impossible to see what was happening beyond the confines of the square.

The 2 weeks of foreign radio propaganda had misfired — 200-250 people gathered for the anti-Soviet rally. I would hazard a guess that half of them came out of curiosity. At any rate, when the older ones started singing the old Lithuanian anthem, the younger ones

were visibly embarrassed. What is such a number of demonstrators in a city with a population of 500,000 — work it out for yourselves. However that may be, I do not envy my colleagues among foreign journalists and cameramen if they want to present the assemblage as a mass gathering. They will have a really hard job covering problems of the democratic nature of organizing this kind of event — the speakers rose to speak two or three times. They sang prayers in memory of the victims. They sang beautiful folk songs. They read poetry. They cursed bureaucracy and censorship and drew up a program for future meetings...

There was a certain bravado in that the speakers gave their name, surname, and place of work. Just look how brave we are, we are not afraid of anything, they seemed to be saying. When a handsome, well-built youth climbed onto the granite slabs and introduced himself they applauded him like all the others. They applauded again when he spoke of his love for Lithuania and Lithuanian culture. But then he asked a question which had to be asked: What would have become of Lithuania and its people if the Soviet Union had not come to its assistance? Then the demonstrators booed the young man, their compatriot, and did not allow him to speak. Why?

It seems to me that in the conditions of glasnost and democratization it is not just we Communists and members of the soviet aktiv who must learn to live and find a model of mutual understanding and communal life. After all, the 250 people gathered in the capital city in order to present themselves as a protest force of a whole nation, gathered not to listen to each other but to be heard. But does that rule out the possibility of listening to objections?

Later, when the passions died down and the crowd had drifted away, a few dozen meters from the Adam Mickiewicz monument I saw a number of black armbands lying on the stones in the roadway — the selfsame armbands which only a few minutes ago had been a sign of mourning for the victims of Stalinism.

Now, overcoming sorrow, we speak about the past frankly. We do not dramatize it, and we do not embellish it. The regret over past mistakes which cost us so dear is passing from heart to heart like a chain reaction and in many families it is in the nature of a personal tragedy. This grief is not for outward show, it cannot be donned like a mask for the duration of a masquerade. It is not in the traditions of our people to make an exhibition of it.

I believe that I was not the only one to see those carelessly dropped black armbands, but that those kids who chanced to attend the rally saw them too and will interpret it correctly.

'Internal Motivations' Behind Baltic Rallies
LD262300 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1115 GMT 26 Aug 87

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 26 (TANJUG) — Although claims could be accepted that last week's demonstrations in

three Soviet Baltic republics — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania — were synchronized from outside, they also have their internal motivations, the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes today.

Although the Soviet press registered, for the first time, the "Anti-Soviet meetings of extremists" in the three Baltic republics, there were similar protests, demonstrations and incidents in earlier years. They were, however, recorded rarely and only in the local press, in the form of verdicts on the demonstrators, VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes.

Regardless of the number of demonstrators, which even according to Western sources is not too large (about 10,000), VECERNJE NOVOSTI says that there is dissatisfaction among the Baltic population in spite of the fact that the standard of living in the region is much higher than in any other part of the Soviet Union.

According to the Yugoslav daily, Moscow is right in claiming that foreign factors have a certain share in these events. Gathering in the West are emigrants, the descendants of quislings and nationalists who want to see the three Baltic republics outside the Soviet Union, as they were before World War Two.

Moscow, however, is already starting to take these forces' arguments away from them, although it is still a far cry from what the demonstrators in Vilnius, Tallinn and Riga wanted, writes VECERNJE NOVOSTI. It was promised that the church of the national patron Saint Kazimir in Vilnius, which was turned into a museum, will be returned to the church, as will another church in Klaipeda which was turned into a concert hall.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI assumes that the course of reviewing history, as one of the facets of perestroika, will possibly also include the removal of blind spots in the history of the Baltic peoples and their relations with the Soviet Union. In any case, there are less and less taboos in the Soviet Union today, so that those also serving as a pretext or constituting the background of gatherings such as last Sunday's ones in Vilnius, Riga and Tallinn may probably also disappear.

Readers' Letters Cited on Nationalities

"M260800 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Aug 87 Second Edition pp 3, 6

[Ye. Manko roundup of readers' letters: "From One Root: PRAVDA Readers on the Soviet Peoples' Friendship"]

[Text] In a certain rayon in the Non-Chernozem a composite student detachment was building a stockmen's camp. A week after work began, by which time everyone knew each other well, there was a late arrival — Askhat Taleyev from Bashkiriya. An ordinary enough guy. But from the very first day he took a dislike to Volodya Kolakin — an Udmurt, from the neighboring republic. He openly expressed disrespect toward him,

and hinted in conversations with comrades that the other man was a tell-tale. There were squabbles. The commander and the commissar started trying to get to the bottom of it. They appealed to Taleyev to be frank, they tried to elicit from Kolakin whether they had known each other before, whether there was a long-standing quarrel between them; all in vain.

Then there was an accident at the construction site. They were putting up the last rows of logs for the bathhouse. Two guys lost their grip on a heavy log, and it broke away from them and fell directly onto Taleyev, who was preparing moss for caulking. The beam hit him on the head, and when he collapsed unconscious to the ground, it slipped onto his neck. The guys up on the timber frame froze with horror on seeing their comrade suffocating. Only Kolakin did not lose his cool, and without stopping to think, jumped down from a height of 3 meters and instantly freed Taleyev from under the beam. Kolakin was mentioned in a decree that was read out to the whole unit. Taleyev, when he recovered, submitted a report asking to be transferred to another construction project. He openly explained the reason: "I am ashamed of my attitude to Kolakin." Here is the background of the story. The population of the village where the Taleyevs lived was mixed: Apart from Bashkirs, there were Russians, Tatars, and Udmurts. Askhat's father, a storeman at the kolkhoz grain store, was caught by the chief bookkeeper misappropriating grain, and was put on trial. From that time on he hated the bookkeeper, an Udmurt by nationality, and together with him all the village Udmurts, for some reason regarding his own guilt, which was proved irrefutably by the court, to be the result of the "machinations of people from another tribe." He instilled this in his son, and you know what that led to in the construction detachment.

From time to time you encounter things like this, whether you see it for yourself, on an editorial mission, or in written form, in the readers' mail... The negative phenomena of recent decades, against which the party has now unleashed a resolute struggle, were manifested in the sphere of national relations too, it was noted at the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum. We were reminded that all is not well here by the events in Alma-Ata, the recent attempt on the part of extremists from among the Crimean Tatars to disrupt public order, and the provocative sorties by groups of nationalists which took place last Sunday, following the scenario of the Western "radio voices" in the capitals of the Soviet Baltic republics.

Soviet people — workers, peasants, intelligentsia — have a profound interest in such phenomena being eradicated as quickly as possible. There were many responses to the articles by the Armenian poetess Silva Kaputikyan ("Motherland — Large and Small," 7 May) and the Lithuanian poet Yuozas Nekroshyus ("Tree of Brotherhood," 15 June). In our country, whose 70th anniversary we are preparing to celebrate, readers say in their letters, a unique, unprecedented community of peoples has been created. While being monolithic and united in its aims, it

preserves the nature and unique originality of each nation and ethnic group belonging to it, and does everything to promote their development and prosperity.

We are proud of the union of fraternal republics, our multinational motherland, and we value the sense of being a united family. "My mother is Ukrainian and my father is Russian," I.Ye. Zelenko writes from the Far East. "I was born near Zhitomir, my mother tongue is Ukrainian, and my passport says: Ukrainian. After serving in the Pacific Fleet I married and stayed in Maritime Kray. My wife is Moldavian. Our children are preschool age. Apart from Russian we teach them Moldavian and Ukrainian at home. I do not know what nationality they will register in when they receive their citizens' rights — their mother's or their father's. After all, is it all that important! We Soviet people have one common root, although we have different languages. We all spring from October."

The same lofty feeling permeates a letter from Polotsk, from Great Patriotic War invalid A.A. Tarler, holder of two Orders of Glory. Recalling his youth and the boys and girls of various nationalities who were his friends in his school years, he writes:

"You do not choose your father and mother, and that means your nationality. But all of us, the prewar young generation, felt we were children of our great socialist motherland. We were proud of the heroes of October and the Civil War, Magnitka and the Turkestan-Siberian Railroad, Khasan and Halhin-gol, our hearts were with the fathers of some of our comrades, who were fighting in the ranks of the internationalists on the side of republican Spain. When the frenzied hordes of fascists descended on our country, like everyone, we stood firm in defense of the gains of socialism and the freedom of the fatherland."

V.V. Gotovskiy, a Russian by nationality, ends his letter in Kazakh: "Kosh, aman bolynyz" [as published] (be healthy). He is also happy that he is linked by strong comradely feelings to people "different in blood, but united in spirit."

"The world outlook of internationalism," Vasilii Vlasovich writes, "was something I absorbed from early childhood, not only because we talked about it in lessons and sang about it at the pioneer camp fires; life itself raised me in this spirit. My father died in 1942, and Ongarbay Kugmanov, chairman of the Put Rybaka Kolkhoz (Sary-Kumey village), took me under his wing and became a second father to me. Thanks to him I gained strength and learned to stand on my own feet. That was all a long time ago, but it remains in my heart. Last year, at home in Taganrog, I met a young soldier from Uralsk Oblast. I talked to him in his mother tongue, we embraced like brothers, he could hardly believe I am not a Kazakh by birth."

Considering the nature of socialist internationalism, the authors of many letters which have come in from the union and autonomous republics in response to *Pravda*

talk of the important consolidating role of the Russian people and their language and culture in the formation and development of the Soviet Union. Representatives of the technical and creative intelligentsia speak warmly of the comradely assistance they receive from specialists from RSFSR scientific and cultural centers and the fruitful discussion of topical creative problems.

"For all the peoples of the USSR," Candidate of Historical Sciences K.-A.R. Kipkeyev writes from Karachayevsk, "our great motherland, its fate, and its culture are boundlessly dear. While preserving everything that belongs to our own nationality — the language, the literature, the useful traditions — we Soviet peoples always think about the great motherland and are concerned for its prosperity. It is necessary in every way to promote the study of the statewide Russian language, the great Lenin's language, the language which helps us to rally and form a single whole, a Soviet, socialist whole. In thinking of this we are thinking of the future."

Leningrader A. Kislyakov knows from his son, who is now serving in the army, how hard things are for new recruits who have a poor knowledge of Russian. It is even more difficult for students from the Central Asian republics — they have to work hard to improve their Russian and sometimes practically learn it from scratch. He is echoed by P.K. Azimov, who lives in Tashkent. Putting the question in practical terms, he believes that shortcomings in the study of Russian in the republic are the result of the poor preparation of teachers. Steps are being taken to improve matters and more young people are now being sent to study at VUZ's and teacher training institutions in the RSFSR.

Readers' attention was also drawn to another important problem touched on by the authors of the articles printed in PRAVDA — the development and mutual enrichment of the national cultures of all peoples and nations of the USSR. The resolution of this problem, a letter from labor veteran S.O. Osmanov (Uzbekistan) says, will serve to further strengthen our multinational socialist state.

"If a person has no love for his local homeland," lecturer I.F. Yushchuk, from Kiev, says, continuing this idea, "how can he love our boundless land — the USSR?! Such people are indifferent to social problems and to society's spiritual life. They are 'patriots' when it comes to their own pocket, their prosperity, and their whole life boils down to that."

This reader and others rightly speak of the importance of cultivating in Soviet people a love and respect for culture and history, not only those that are common to all of us, but also the national culture and history belonging to a particular fraternal people. E.V. Gasparyan, S.G. Arevyan, S.V. Petrosyan, and others from Yerevan note in a collective letter, supporting Silva Kaputikyan's proposal on the need to improve the teaching in national schools

of the history and literature of their own and the other fraternal peoples, that this will do much to help mold the personality of young citizens as patriots and internationalists.

A number of letters express concern in connection with the fact that in the major industrial centers of the Donbass and the Dnepr, not enough attention is devoted to the study of the native language and literature.

"Does not this lead to the impoverishment of the language?" V.T. Golovko from Dnepropetrovsk asks with concern. "In Russian schools Ukrainian is not a compulsory subject, it is optional. English or German is compulsory, but Ukrainian is optional. Is not that a paradox?"

There are similar laments in letters from Belorussia. It is 20 years since the republic adopted a resolution giving parents the right to "exempt" their children from studying the native language in school. There is bitterness in a letter from soldier Ye. Nikolayev: He was not taught his native Chuvash language in childhood. He holds this against his parents and the school. But that is not all:

"I have bought dictionaries and textbooks, I want to master Chuvash independently. Of course, I will achieve my desire, but at what cost — being 19 is not like childhood, when languages come easily and simply."

Letters have also arrived in which a different view is seen: I know Russian, and that is enough for me. S.P. (she asks us not to give her surname) lives in Georgia, but judging from the letter, she does not know that republic's language. Is not that why, in particular, she finds things difficult in certain everyday situations that she mentions in the letter?

The problems of people's relationships in a multinational state are very important and far from simple; they require an attentive, thoughtful approach and are not susceptible to haste or political blather. In our society glasnost and the desire to seek the truth in debate and businesslike discussion of urgent problems are putting down ever deeper roots. What is needed is a friendly, really comradely, respectful approach to the people whose viewpoint you are disputing. Reading the responses, we find some letters whose authors forget this. Some people come straight out with the most amazing things. For instance, one of the letters already mentioned here asserts without a shadow of a doubt that in our national republics the knowledge of the cultures and history of other peoples of the country is absolutely nonexistent, "which," the author writes, "can only be derided, with this anecdote: 'Oh yes, we know you Georgians. We have been to Baku.'" Why so, esteemed comrade? Do you seriously believe, for instance, that people in Azerbaijan do not know Shota Rustaveli and have not read his immortal "The Hero in the Tiger's Skin"? Or do you suppose that Georgians have never heard of the remarkable Soviet Azerbaijani poet Samed Vurgun? Or perhaps you do not know that there is probably not one republic

whose theaters have not staged plays by authors living and working in other fraternal regions of the socialist community: the Belorussian Andrey Makayenok, the Moldavian Ion Drutse, the Azerbaijanis Rustam and Maksud Ibragimbekov, the Bashkir Mustay Karim, the return trips by writers, composers, artists, and their creative meetings in Moscow? No, tell your anecdote to someone else. It is another matter to say that the study of the fraternal republics' history and culture requires improving in every way, there is clearly no disputing that. It is hard to agree with the tone of the letter from A.D. Gavrilenko of Kharkov. He attempts to see chance events in the streetcar, the post office, or the store as part of a whole "concept" of suppressing the Ukrainian language. For instance, certain information notices in Ukrainian were recently removed in the city. A group of citizens appealed to the gorispolkom, which did not respond to the request to restore the bilingual notices. How does Anatoliy Dmitriyevich see this? Since the letter was signed by both Russians and Ukrainians, it appears that "the Kharkov authorities did not consider it necessary to support this manifestation of a sense of fraternity among peoples." No more and no less! Elsewhere in the letter it says that the author could "cite dozens of specific, lamentable examples of a philistine, black hundred attitude to the Ukrainian language." If some woman on the bus speaks disapprovingly of the Ukrainian language, if there is even a disgraceful incident in which someone belittles a Ukrainian's national feelings, can it be concluded from this that "Ukrainophobia rules" in Kharkov, which is famous for its labor traditions? The author of these lines is himself Ukrainian by nationality, and he is particularly upset by such distortions and wrongful accusations against the inhabitants of the second capital of the Ukraine.

Muscovite R.I. Yemelyanov writes correctly that sometimes we lack a sufficient level of development of national relations. This is manifested in the deeds and actions of representatives of the country's different peoples. Surely this is indicated, for instance, by the remark by A.G. Topoyev of Khabarovsk, who accuses the Russian people of a great-power attitude because in conversations, the press, and television programs "the word 'Russian' is heard very frequently: 'gifts of the Russian forest,' 'Russian kvass,' 'Russian bliny,' 'Russian pies.'" This argument is risible, but the stance adopted by the letter's author is no laughing matter.

This letter is the only one of the responses in that spirit, and I have cited it here only in order to give the reader an accurate idea of the nature of our mail. Let me remind you that the main thought to be found in the mail is this: The further rapprochement of the socialist nations depends on each of the peoples making up the fraternal community. Each of them should augment their efforts and strengthen our friendship. We all spring from October.

Gosagroprom Deputy Chairman Kuznetsov Dies
PM270924 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Aug 87 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary: "Lev Nikolayevich Kuznetsov"]

[Excerpts] Lev Nikolayevich Kuznetsov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom [State Agro-Industrial Committee], died on 23 August 1987 at the age of 57, after a serious illness. [passage omitted]

In 1961 L.N. Kuznetsov was elected deputy chairman, and in 1962 first deputy chairman, of Tyumen Oblispolkom. In 1968-1972 L.N. Kuznetsov worked as secretary of Tyumen CPSU Obkom, and in 1972 he was elected oblispolkom chairman.

From 1976 L.N. Kuznetsov was USSR deputy minister of agriculture, and from December 1985 deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom. [passage omitted]

V.P. Nikonov, V.S. Murakhovskiy, B.Ye. Shcherbina, I.I. Skiba, V.K. Mesyats, G. P. Bogomyakov, Ye.I. Sizenko, A.I. Iyevlev, P.A. Paskar, V.K. Onisovets, Yu.N. Balandin, V.D. Danilenko, N.M. Zaychenko, V.N. Ignatov, N.F. Kulinich, A.P. Lyapchenkov, A.A. Nikonov, G.A. Romanenko, V.I. Chernovanov, V.V. Nikitin, V.S. Konarygin, V.I. Demin, P.I. Korneyev, V.D. Kabanov, A.D. Tretyakov, L.K. Ernts, A.Z. Grishanov.

Economic

Gosplan Official Views Planning System
PM211541 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 87
Second Edition p 2

[Interview with L.B. Vid, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, by own special correspondent A. Nikitin: "Restructuring Planning: We Discuss the Role and Tasks of Central Economic Organs under the New Economic Management Conditions" — first paragraph is editorial introduction; date and place unspecified]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a resolution on restructuring planning and enhancing the role of the USSR Gosplan under the new economic management conditions. L.B. Vid, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, answers questions from *Pravda* special correspondent A. Nikitin on the problems of fundamentally restructuring the entire planning system.

[Nikitin] The CPSU Central Committee June Plenum made serious criticism of the USSR Gosplan and the prevailing centralized planning system. How is Gosplan eradicating these shortcomings and how is it restructuring itself as a whole?

[Vid] I think that everyone realizes that planning the economic development of a country such as ours, with its mighty production potential, immensely rich natural

resources, vast area, and multinational population, is an extremely difficult task. That is why we cannot restructure one thing in economic management without changing another. Since planning is a system — and a complex one — all its interrelated cells and components must be restructured.

Restructuring of planning has begun throughout the entire plan system. For instance, whereas the USSR Gosplan has drawn up its item lists and has arranged the centralized distribution of 2,117 individual material resources this year, only 415 different types are planned for distribution next year. The others have been taken over by the USSR Gosstab. A direct possibility is opening up for developing wholesale trade in means of production. This could not have been done by a Gosplan continuing to hold an immense list of items ranging from nuclear reactors to railroad ties and street lamps.

The practice of restructuring is proceeding and gaining pace precisely on the basis of its systematic nature, when everything is interrelated and when your partners on both sides understand you and are also striving forward on the basis of a program coordinated with everyone else. But the past is passing away in the struggle with the new.

[Nikitin] How are plans actually drawn up, now that enterprises are switching to the principles of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing?

[Vid] The draft state plan for the country's economic and social development in the coming year, preparations for which the USSR Gosplan completed 1 August, has been drawn up with a fundamentally new structure. I would say that 1988 is the first year in which the radical restructuring of the running of the national economy will become large-scale and comprehensive. At the same time, a feature of the year is that there will still be many labor collectives working under the old conditions. Thus, there will still be two types of interweaving economic relations operating in the national economy. This requires that the structure of the plan and the makeup and status of its indicators take account of the rights of enterprises and associations switching to full economic accountability [khozraschet], while at the same time being suitable for those still working under the old conditions.

The essence of the new approach to the draft plan lies in the fact that it has been stripped of all indicators that are secondary to national economic standards. The plan is composed of sections that clearly define the rate, proportions, and priorities of economic development, along with foreign economic ties and a strong social policy. All this is coordinated at the level of the country's national economy. When the plan is sent to union republic ministries and departments, union republic councils of ministers, and labor collectives, all sections of the plan start operating in accordance with the law on the enterprise.

The first section of the plan includes the most important socioeconomic indicators and national economic and

social item lists, which sets the tone for shaping the entire state plan and typifies the tasks of the economy as a whole in its territorial and comprehensive sections. Ministries and enterprises are not notified about this first section.

Bearing in mind the fact that enterprises' work on the principles of full economic accountability [khozraschet] is carried out in the context of a ratified 5-year plan, the second section of the draft summarizes all the economic indicators which the law on the enterprise stipulates as control figures. The ministries and enterprises are notified about these indicators merely as initial data for developing their own plans.

The next, third section of the plan includes state orders directed via USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers to enterprises in accordance with the status laid down by the law.

[Nikitin] Is this also being done for the first time?

[Vid] Yes, it is the first time that state orders have been drawn up by the USSR Gosplan jointly with the ministries. The state orders include deliveries and purchases of the most important types of industrial and agricultural output and the work of transportation. Particular stress is laid on the indicators of social development and the improvement of the people's living standards. Furthermore, the state orders reflect the targets for commissioning the most important production capacities and social projects via centralized state capital investment.

The incorporation of such orders in the 1988 State Plan has made it possible to reduce the number of listed production indicators approved and communicated to enterprises by a factor of more than 3.5 compared with the current year.

[Nikitin] What, then, was the first reaction to these reductions?

[Vid] We thought that the ministry and department representatives would be glad that broad scope for an independent solution of tasks and a free choice of both product type and customers had been opened up. This was where things had come unstuck in recent years. But instead of welcoming the free choice of partners, a number of them have begun to demand the maximum increase in state orders.

[Nikitin] Formerly they did their best to beat off state tasks, whereas now they want to have more of them?

[Vid] As distinct from the former tasks issued in the form of directives, state orders, particularly in the processing sectors, will account on average for 50-70 percent of all production volume, and for the time being for the bulk of the capacity of single-product extraction enterprises — gas, oil, and coal, for example. Practical work will clarify still more here. There will, for example, be enterprises to which state orders will not apply at all.

They will draw up their entire program themselves on the basis of economic contracts. Strains could occur in some places, particularly at advanced, prestige enterprises producing high-performance goods, which are sometimes in short supply.

All management levels must work together harmoniously to create the conditions necessary for every collective to earn a high income based on economic accountability (*khozraschet*). It is essential first and foremost to create good organizational conditions wherever a collective finds itself in difficulty, to ensure that every aspect of its program balances out, so to speak. As for the actual work, the interference which occurred in the past is now proscribed by law. Here there should be no questions raised.

[Nikitin] Most economic questions are now resolved at the enterprises. How in these conditions does the USSR Gosplan understand the need to improve centralized planning?

[Vid] Until recently the erroneous opinion was current that planning's strength lay in approving an enormous number of indicators and tasks from the center. The main thing was to include everything in the state plan, right down to the shoelaces and shoe polish. We would then, allegedly, have an abundance of everything.

For many years numerous economists searched, like medieval alchemists, for a generalizing indicator or package of indicators that would serve as a theoretical philosopher's stone in economics. They would issue orders from the center and everything would automatically turn into gold. But that did not happen. In my view, a true philosopher's stone has now become an objective reality: not dead or directive-based indicators but the universal development of the human factor, the fostering of a responsible proprietary attitude at the work place, a complete end to wage-leveling, and independent economic decisionmaking on the part of enterprises. This in general constitutes the new economic mechanism.

As a result of the impact of this mechanism alone the USSR Gosplan will finally be able to concentrate on establishing the main national economic proportions, choosing priorities, and resolving major social problems. It was for just such a planning ideology rather than for dealing with fragments and petty matters that the USSR Gosplan was set up. We regard this as the chief way to improve central planning.

[Nikitin] Are there any guarantees that the proportions and rates defined by the USSR Gosplan will be observed on a national economic level, given the limited number of directives and other indicators?

[Vid] This question worries many specialists, particularly those concerned with management. The Law on Enterprises, the system of long-term economic indicators as applied to planning activity, and state orders primarily guarantee unity of action and combination of the

interests of state and labor collectives. Here economic indicators — the prime data for drawing up plans — guide the collectives, and they will have a guaranteed stable economic situation in such conditions. This is very important now, since under market conditions enterprises will only see their own economic stability after selling their output. Socialist commodity-money relations will enable enterprises still at the stage of preparing work to obtain in good time in the future clear economic reference points as to how to organize the whole of their economic activity.

This system of normatives, state orders, and quotas guarantees the necessary degree of economic independence for enterprises and at the same time a direct link with state tasks for a given period. Undoubtedly much still has to be done here to improve the system. But it is already clear that we do have a Law on Enterprises and an economic mechanism checked out on a wide scale that takes account of the interests of the state, the enterprise, and every working person. Therefore the loss by the center of an enormous number of secondary-level national economic planning indicators is no loss but rather a... godsend enabling every management level to solve its inherent planning problems in an objective way.

[Nikitin] What is planned to increase glasnost in planning?

[Vid] That is to a considerable extent the new task for the USSR Gosplan. It cannot be said that glasnost has been wholly absent from planning in recent years but it began only at the final stage — during discussion of the state plan for the economic and social development of the country at the USSR Council of Ministers and at commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and sessions which adopted the law on the state plan. This was a well-developed system of glasnost but it only operated at the final stage when the plan was submitted to the supreme level.

A general system for democratizing planning is therefore called for. It must begin operating from the level of the enterprise, association, and organization, since they now approve their own plans. It is essential that they be discussed in detail in labor collectives, because it is the economic life of the collective, earnings, social development, and state orders which are involved.

If you are talking about ministries and the USSR Gosplan it is primarily essential, in my view, to introduce into practice broad nationwide discussion of the major questions of socioeconomic development affecting the interests of the country as a whole, the republic, the sector, and the region. Large-scale scientific, technical, social, and economic programs on whose solution major resources will be expended need open discussion.

The USSR Gosplan, together with the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the central economic bodies, are developing the concept for the country's social and economic

development for the next 15 years. This will make it possible for us to spot the most important concrete problems affecting the interests of the broad masses. And it is, of course, essential to submit the most significant of them to nationwide discussion. Let us take such topical problems as the restructuring of the health service, qualitative enhancement of food supplies, improving pension provision, the basic tenets of the reform of prices, and so forth.

It is impossible to take decisions or provide in the plans for the outlay of very considerable centralized (as well as enterprise) resources without extensive discussion of such problems. The party has condemned the practice of making secret decisions on such questions. It is essential that everyone intelligently consider, analytically weigh, and openly discuss what the country is capable of now, tomorrow, and beyond. Our long-term plans will then be buttressed by the opinion of all the people and not be the product of qualified but nevertheless individual planning bodies incapable of encompassing every manifestation of the life of the country and society.

Glasnost and in-depth, comprehensive discussion of major national economic problems ensure the essential constant link between the center and the people. A system needs feedback if it is to be viable. Only such a system can safeguard against major errors, and the USSR Gosplan cannot operate in the new conditions without it.

[Nikitin] The so-called "residue method" of planning the development of the material base of the sociocultural sphere was sharply criticized at the 27th party congress. What principles will in the future determine the relationship of the USSR Gosplan and other management bodies to social development problems?

[Vid] The question is a fundamental one. The congress removed the problem from the impasse it was in and gave it the necessary momentum. But the system must operate now so that the solution of social problems can continue to gather necessary momentum after 1990.

People must be fully provided with accommodation, hospitals, schools, kindergartens, and other facilities in the nonproduction sphere. The USSR Gosplan's work here will be underpinned by new social norms, which will be drawn up on the basis of principles of a just social policy and must penetrate the design, development, and manufacture of new equipment. A powerful, clearly defined planning-normative system of social norms mandatory for all levels of management must be created.

[Nikitin] An Economic Council has been established by a resolution on the restructuring of planning. What sort of body is it and what roughly is the scope of its activity?

[Vid] The organization of such a council in the context of the formation of a new, integrated national economic management system based on economic rather than

administrative methods was an objective necessity. It is necessary to coordinate the elaboration and implementation of a unified policy of planning, material and technical backup, price-fixing, finances, labor remuneration, money circulation, and credit. Coordinated action becomes extremely important in such conditions. Given the functions of the council, leaders of all central economic bodies are part of it.

I would note in conclusion that we are carrying out restructuring on the march. We have quite a few difficulties of our own: Many people in the USSR Gosplan still regard life in a departmental, compartmentalized way, whereas it is high time to jettison it. I am convinced that the party demands that one begin with oneself, with one's own thinking is a very important condition for restructuring.

In the struggle of the new against the old workers in the planning area of restructuring are learning how to operate energetically and competently and to get to the very bottom of the processes taking place. But mistakes can occur in such very complex work and must be eliminated as we go along. Here we are helped in our work by the M.S. Gorbachev thesis that mistakes may be made in new work but the main thing is not to mark time and wait around. Therefore, while actively restructuring planning we are also carefully analyzing all its effects so as to rectify errors where need be and speed up the restructuring of the management of the socialist economy.

Agricultural

Media Report Developments for 23-26 August

LD270407 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 23-26 August. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

23 August

Plowing of autumn fallow has started in the Altay and already 250,000 hectares have been lifted. The hot, dry weather is drying the soil out, so the farmers are using subsurface tillers. Many farms are using as little surface plowing as possible, and are mulching the soil. (0400)

The harvest in Latvia has been held back by heavy rainfall. Harvesting has so far taken place in only a quarter of the grain-producing area. Considerably less has been produced than last year, although the harvest is not bad. (0600)

24 August

Farmers in Perm Oblast have completed their work on the whole of the winter area. Many farms have used new sorts of seeds for winter rye. The farms are now plowing autumn fallow, with the aim of completing most of this work in August. (0200)

New harvesting machines are now being tested in Tula Oblast, which use a nontraditional method of threshing. A powerful air flow threshes the grain, which means that it is not damaged. The equipment is a trailer, which means that the motor will not stand idle for most of the year. (0400)

The agricultural workers of Kazakhstan have commenced the sowing of winter eared crops. Farms in the republic have already started early autumn plowing; during the autumn period they are faced with preparing almost 20 million hectares of plowed land for the future harvest. (0800)

The harvest of early grain crops has finished in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast. On average they have collected 32 quintals per hectare. (1100)

Farms in Gorkiy Oblast have today delivered the 350,000th tonne of grain to the granaries; 30,000 tonnes more than was envisioned. The sale of grain to the state continues. (1400)

25 August

This year's harvest has been difficult in Belorussia. In some farms in Vitebsk Oblast the rainfall was three or four times greater than the norm for the month, and the grain was flattened on wide areas. The farms are doing selective cutting. The harvest in Grodno Oblast is good, and results are also good in the Gomel Area. (0200)

One million hectares of grain have been threshed in Tatarsiya, more than half the total area. Sowing of winter crops and plowing is going on at the same time. Rape seeds are now being threshed. A special factory has been built in Kazan to produce rape seed oil, a new agro-industrial product. (0600)

Farm workers of Kursk Oblast have delivered 930,000 tonnes of grain to the state granaries, thus fulfilling the annual plan. (1100)

Grain harvesting is proceeding apace in Lithuania. Between 40,000 and 50,000 hectares of grain crops are being cut every day. Up to 30 quintals per hectare is being threshed on average. (1100)

Farmworkers of Belgorod Oblast have begun sowing winter crops today. High yield and zonally graded varieties of wheat and rye will occupy an area of more than 420,000 hectares in the oblast. (1100)

On many of Kirgizia's farms a new forage crop, Amaranth, has appeared. The seed was brought from Belorussia. In south Kirgizia the grass has immediately yielded a generous crop, growing 2 meters high, with high protein content. It can be grown either on irrigated land or bog. (1300)

26 August

Farms in the Kuban have overfulfilled twofold their plan for the sale of strong wheat to the state, which has obtained more than 1.5 million tonnes. (0400)

Harvesting of grain crops has begun in Tomsk Oblast. The area to be done is 350,000 hectares. (1100)

Data on Harvesting, Sowing Reported

LD270907 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 26 Aug 87

[Text] USSR State Committee for Statistics reports on harvesting and sowing progress in various regions of the country: Kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been cut on an area of 63.7 million hectares. Grain has been threshed on almost 54 million hectares and has almost been gathered on half the sown acreage. The roads from the threshing floors of kolkhozes and sovkhozes to elevators are becoming busier. Oblasts are completing plans for selling grain crops to the state. Many farms in the Kuban, Staropol Kray, Orel, Tula, Kiev and certain other oblasts in the Russian Federation and Ukraine are handing over above-plan grain crops. Meanwhile, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have begun sowing winter crops on more than 7 million hectares, approximately a fifth of the plan.

Kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Belorussia, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania have started sowing. Machine operators are extending the number of fields on which intensive technology is used. They are striving not to permit the mistakes of past years, when at some farms not all the requirements and subtleties of intensive technologies were taken into account.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1430 GMT on 26 August, citing a report issued by the USSR State Committee for Statistics, notes "sown and natural grasses have been cut on over 75 million hectares throughout the country, and over 69 million tonnes of hay have been procured, which is in excess of last year's total."]

Kursk Oblast Grain Plan Fulfilled

PM270920 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 87
First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Kursk Grain Growers' Success"]

[Excerpt] Neither the late spring, nor the resowing of the winter crops, nor other complexities of the season prevented the Kursk farmers from obtaining a good grain crop. Yesterday, while still continuing the threshing of the reaped windrows, they reported the fulfillment of the annual plan for grain sales to the state — 930,000 tonnes has been poured into the storehouses. [passage omitted]

Military

Officer Cites Weaknesses of Recruits

PM231815 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
20 Aug 87 First Edition p 2

[Article by Captain V. Kazakov, battalion deputy commander in charge of political matters: "He Was a Drug Addict"; a note appended to the article states: "All the names mentioned in the piece have been changed"]

[Text] I have before me a letter of notification to our unit from the Izobilnenskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department.

"The investigation department of the Izobilnenskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department is instituting criminal proceedings against Azayev, Glazkov, and Pletnev, minors, for robbing citizens and illegally manufacturing and keeping drugs.

"They were searched and certain letters were confiscated — letters from a serviceman in your unit, V.A. Sankov (I have changed the soldier's name, of course, at his request — V. Kazakov), who had in the past manufactured and used drugs with them.

"I am sending you Sankov's letters and I am informing you of the measures that have been adopted."

I must say that the letter was not unexpected: The battalion commander and I were well aware that Private Vladimir Sankov had had a weakness for smoking hashish before being drafted. It was regrettable, however, that others, those who drafted him, had not noticed this.

I will not say how we managed to find this out. I will only say that at the very start of his service the soldier attracted a lot of attention: Morose, irritable, introverted, he avoided his fellows and had no interests. People felt that he was constantly depressed, that an agonizing mental battle was going on inside him. Without even knowing the soldier, his character, his past, one could say with certainty that the youth had joined the army in a precarious state of mind and with distorted ideas about moral values. His period of service would be difficult, there would be a lot of trouble and we commanders, political workers, and party and Komsomol activists would have to put in enormous effort, time, and nervous energy; and that is how it turned out. Now that we have Sankov's letters to his "friends" we can trace the progress of his return to normal life. I am of course quoting the letters with Sankov's permission.

From a letter written by Pvt Sankov (29th day of service).

"Send me a package with a false bottom. In the top part put some candy, envelopes, cookies, I leave it up to you. Put the important thing underneath."

The package did not materialize. The celebrated street brotherhood, which they had prized so much, remained silent. In a brief, belated reply Sankov was told in no uncertain terms that they needed money, and without money there would be no packages. He still did not believe that his former friends had simply turned away from him, that the oaths of loyalty and support for one another might in fact be empty sounds. So he continued to send letter after letter — begging, humiliating himself, losing his dignity.

From a letter written by Pvt Sankov (44th day of service).

"I am asking you as a friend to send some hashish. I am finding it very hard. Ask Grishka — he may provide some; I'll work off the debt later. I am begging you, please! When you join the army, I'll send you packages too..."

During the entire correspondence, the range of interests hinged on the destructive habit that was bringing him down. Beyond that there was little that interested or excited Sankov. It was his life, carefully concealed from the others, but a life that embraced his entire being. Around him a different life was bubbling — hard and interesting, devoted to great goals. He could not fail to notice it and compare it with his own. Certain phrases were already creeping into this letter: "I like the service, everything is honest and fair here, by the book. Our unit is a model unit..."

The days and weeks passed. We could see that Sankov was starting to display a conscientious attitude, to read; he was showing an interest in the service, and one began to notice that he was wanting to communicate with his fellows. Although the service and behavior problems continued to occur, it was clear that the man had begun to find his feet and was proceeding with increasing confidence along the path leading to the wide, straight highway.

It can now be said that, despite all the difficulties, we have won the battle to recover him in which our entire collective was involved. I will not go through everything we had to do during those months, I will just say that the commanders and his fellow servicemen did not leave Sankov alone with his thoughts. In his free time he would be taken off to the volleyball court or to the library; discussions would be arranged on topics that interest all young people. Evidently, it was not in vain.

From a letter written by Pvt Sankov (121st day of service).

"You don't need to send me anything. I have given it up, I do not even smoke cigarettes any more, and I advise you to do the same. Seryy, tell the guys they must study. I've learned what study is. I could kick myself for not going to technical college. So when you finish school, go and study somewhere: It will stand you in good stead..."

Today, in the subunit commanded by Captain L. Bissikayev, V. Sankov has a good record. I talked with him recently. "I want to perform my service honestly," the soldier said. "My mother shed enough tears when my brother took every last kopek out of the house to buy drugs. Fortunately, my mother did not know I was a drug addict, and may she never find out... How did it all happen? I started smoking at the Novotroitskoye Secondary Vocational and Technical School. At first it was a game and I thought: I'll give it up if I want to. Then I got hooked. I felt I would die if I did not get a joint. It is terrible. It ruins everything... I was lucky in that I met people who treated my problem as their own."

Vladimir gave a detailed account of where he obtained the drugs and how he processed them. He also talked about the system of informal relations and mutual support at the vocational and technical school, where each grade had its own rules and duties, violation of which was sometimes severely punished. For example, the

first-graders had to pay a financial tribute, they had to perform cleaning duties in the hostels and run to the store to get food and liquor for the seniors.

We guessed many of the details. Conversations with secondary vocational and technical school graduates, more and more of whom are being drafted into our battalion every year, and their reminiscences about their years of study give one a fairly detailed knowledge of student life and relationships typical of vocational and technical schools. Unfortunately, very many facts indicate that phenomena like the splitting of young people into groups where some rule the roost and others have to submit to them without a murmur and put up with abuse are by no means exceptional, are increasingly taking root, and sometimes assume monstrous forms despite the efforts of teaching staffs and Komsomol organizations. This is confirmed by police figures. I was interested in the figures for offenses by adolescents in several cities: as a rule, around 50 percent of the offenses are committed by secondary vocational and technical school students.

I do not want to generalize, especially as we have many secondary vocational and technical school graduates who have had labor schooling, who have learned a trade, sometimes a very complex one, and are performing their military service conscientiously and in an exemplary manner. But one cannot turn a blind eye to the fact that some of them come into the army with a distorted idea of friendship and comradeship. Here is what I was told by Private N. Georgiyev, former student of Secondary Vocational and Technical School No 2 in Tyumen.

"Even now I shudder to recall my first months of training. We were called 'small fry' or 'boys' and we had to implement so-called unwritten laws unquestioningly. For example, I had brought some food from home — a large part of it I had to hand over to the 'kings.' If they needed money you had to provide that too, if you didn't you would get beaten up. Sometimes you would get woken up during the night and made to go to the room where the 'kings' were enjoying themselves. The kind of things you would see there would make you sick. I could endure it for only 5 months, then I left to live in a private apartment..."

Georgiyev moved to a private apartment, but the majority stayed on in the hostel. There were a few people ruling the roost, with the majority of guys forced to tolerate that kind of treatment. Over a period of 3 years their hearts hardened, and during those 3 years it was inculcated in them that these monstrous attitudes were true collectivism and that the student who complained to the teacher about oppression was a traitor and deserved general contempt.

We know that vocational and technical school students even have their own terminology, a jargon, a manner of addressing one another which varies from place to place. For example, in the southern Ukraine they say "boy," "pheasant," "grandad." In Belorussia it is "ghosts," "demons." In Stavropol Kray you have "miguli," "kagai," [translations unknown] and "old man." There is also the "aristocratic" style, where final-year students are called "king" or "bey."

So a young man comes to us having been through all this. How many sleepless nights and how much precious time an officer has to spend persuading a rabid devotee of these traditions that his beliefs are wrong!

Another question arises: Are we commanders and political workers prepared for work with this category of young people, equipped to eliminate the ills that have been passed on to them?

An officer must be a teacher, particularly in view of the strict yardsticks of the present day. But where do you learn how to educate others? At higher military academies they spend...4 hours teaching the "secrets" of person-to-person teaching on party political courses: One lecture and a practical class; and there is the minimum amount of literature on the topic! In my view the entire party political work course is geared to the ideal young person. But maybe we have generalized work experience which can be consulted somewhere? As far as I can judge we have nothing of the sort, unfortunately. Abstract arguments and good intentions, which offer no discernible advice, are frequently passed off as practical work. So the commander has to "stew in his own juice" and work instinctively.

Television and youth publications are trying to explain very belatedly what kind of life young people are leading today, what their problems and needs are.

It is my belief that of late television, as if compensating for past mistakes, is beginning willy-nilly to flirt with a certain circle of young people who do not constitute the majority, forgetting that the majority of our young people have nothing to do with so-called informal associations. Take the internationalist soldiers who, having served their time, are now continuing actual combat traditions on the labor front, or those who are working selflessly, behaving properly, and studying in an exemplary fashion. Why do they rarely get to the microphone?

Today many problems frequently end up as a bare statement of the facts. Drug addiction, vandalism, infantile behavior — all this exists, unfortunately. But there is essentially no way of finding out how to work in concrete conditions with the people who display these vices.

Recently, describing the younger generation, Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Peskarev, commander of a training platoon, said at the end of his report: "We have to take more trouble over things!..."

In fact the officer is right. On first acquaintance with young soldiers it is clear that many of them need reeducating first and foremost. Will we be able to train them if we traditionally begin by reteaching them, correcting mistakes, reeducating and putting into it effort and energy and, most important, time, which we can barely spare? We must! But how good it would be if the educational process were to start long before service — in the family, at school, at the secondary vocational and technical school.